# THE THOUGHTS OF A Country Gentleman Upon Reading Dr. *Sacheverell's* TRYAL IN A LETTER to a Friend.

*Veſtrum, Accuſatores, alii Anſeres ſunt, qui tantummodo clamant, nocere non poſſunt: alii canes, qui & latrare & mordere poſſunt. Vos autem maximè debetis in eos impetum facere, qui merentur; hoc* Populo *Gratiſſimum eſt: deinde, ſi voletis, etiam tum, cum veriſimile ſit aliquem commiſiſſe, in ſuſpicione latratote: quòd ſi tantummodo ſine ſuſpicione latrabitis, ſic agetis, ut poſtea neminem niſi fortunas veſtras accuſare poſſitis.*

——Cicer. pro Sext. Roſc. Am.

*LONDON:*
Printed and Sold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1710.

*SIR,*

YOU left me, you may remember, under very eager Expectations of the *Tryal*; and you perceiv'd, how great a Pleaſure I had promis'd my ſelf in reading, what I could not have the good Fortune to hear. I thought I could not have rais'd my Imaginations too high: for I look'd upon the *Impeachment* itſelf as a Matter of the greateſt Weight and Conſequence; the Subject of it being more extenſive, and bringing more of the Conſtitution into Debate, than any Tryal we ever yet had in *England*. The Commons, I ſaw, had right Apprehenſions of its Importance; and therefore they order'd the chief Lea-

ders to carry on the Proſecution: Not a *Confiding* Man, who had any Character for ſpeaking, or indeed ſo much as us'd to ſpeak in the *Houſe*, tho' but to make or ſecond a Motion, but was appointed a *Manager*. Above half of them were bred to the Bar: The Nurſery of *Engliſh* Oratory muſt, I thought, have furniſh'd them with Talents, that would ſhine in a popular Pleading.

Such ſelect Proſecutors, ſuch ſolemn Preparations, in a Charge of ſo high a Nature, could not but raiſe my Impatience and my Hopes to ſee the Antient Spirit reviv'd; to ſee that Strength of Reaſoning, and Force of Eloquence, exerted in our Language, which *Demoſthenes* and *Tully* ſhew'd in the *Greek* and the *Roman*: eſpecially when the *Accuſing* Side has ſo many Advantages in ſpeaking (among which *Quintilian* obſerves the bringing their Speeches *ready made*, not to be the leaſt) that it has always been allow'd by the beſt Judges of Rhetorick, That *Orators of*

*Lib.5.c.13*

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*a middle Size are ſufficient to manage an Impeachment with Reputation.* So great a Field to diſplay his Oratory has the *Plantiff*, that the ſame judicious Author, we juſt now mention'd, makes as great a Difference in this Caſe between him and the *Defendant*, as there is between making a Wound and Curing it. *Ibid.*

Theſe Conſiderations made me expect great Things from the *Managers*. I ſat down to read with great Attention; nor did I queſtion, but that, whatever Guard I had upon myſelf, ſtrong Impreſſions would be made upon my Paſſions, as well as my Judgment.

And ſince you deſire my Opinion of theſe Performances, I ſhall give it you with that Freedom, with which You and I are us'd to communicate our Thoughts to one another.

I am apt to think, that in Matters of Harrangue, the Images, that firſt occur to us, are the moſt Natural, and

conſequently the Trueſt; and therefore I cannot convey to You my Ideas of theſe Speeches, as far as the Inclinations and Paſſions are concern'd, in a better way, than by repreſenting in order to You, what State I found my Mind in, whether in *Emotion* or *Tranquility*, during the whole Courſe of my Reading. After I have done this, I ſhall tell you what I apprehend to have been the Deſign of the whole Proſecution, as far as I can collect it from what the *Managers* have ſaid; and compare the preſent Proceedings of the Party that promoted it, with thoſe in a *former* Reign.

In the firſt *Opening* the Caſe I met with nothing, that much offended me. The Gentleman gives us a plain Narrative, without any Affectation of Elegancy, or Method, or Connexion: And tho' *he had ſuch a memorable occaſion to ſet forth his Eloquence*, yet he thinks (and perhaps right) that *no Words of his can aggravate the Offence*, and therefore prudently

*Tryal*, p. 17.

P. 16.

leave

leaves it to aggravate its ſelf. I little dreamt of being *becalm'd* at my firſt Launching out; but from firſt to laſt he flows on in ſo eaſy and gentle a Courſe, that he as little affects the Reader, as he hurts the Criminal. A *Proceeding* ſeldom *practis'd* among Men of Honour, that are to go firſt upon an Attack, unleſs it be a Feint, and no Storm deſign'd; which I dare ſay was not the Caſe here. But Force and Argument are not the Talents of every Orator: The Want of theſe I could have diſpens'd with, if he had not been ſo minute and frivolous in the *Inſtructive* part. It was Tireſome to me to go over all the previous Steps taken by the *Commons*, which I had read before in the *Votes*, ſo much better expreſs'd by Mr. *Fodrell*. Yet I was now and then reliev'd by a Smile upon ſome of thoſe wiſe Obſervations offer'd to the Lords, *That there are Laws to puniſh Spreaders of HORRIBLE STORIES upon great Men*, leſt their Lordſhips ſhould be ignorant, that there was ſuch a thing as

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a Statute of *Scandalum Magnatum*—— That *their Lordſhips may imagine* the *Commons order'd an Impeachment*; and that, *when the whole Commons of* Great-Britain *are Proſecutors, it muſt be agreed their Lordſhips are the proper Judges.* Two Points, which I believe their Lordſhips had no doubt of, when they were ſitting in their Robes in *Weſtminſter-Hall.* But I am apt to think their Lordſhips were not ſo clear in the Paſſage that follows theſe, where they are told, *Their Lordſhips will perceive by PERUSAL of the Sermons, that they had, SINCE the Printing thereof, been handed about with more than ordinary Application. To be handed about with more than ordinary Application*, is a very Extraordinary Expreſſion, if I were at leiſure to remark upon Language. But that the Sermons were *handed about*, and that this was done rather *after* they were printed than *before*, I eaſily allow'd, becauſe I am told the Bookſeller printed a *Hundred Thouſand* of them for this very purpoſe. But how their Lordſhips ſhould PERCEIVE all this

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this *by PERUSAL of the Sermons*, I could not imagine, tho' I have a very great Opinion of their Lordſhip's Sagacity.

In ſome of the next empty pompous Pages, I thought I had met with the Ghoſt of Mr. *Strode*, one of the *Ephori* in 40. who *moſt avow'd the Curbing and Suppreſſing of Majeſty*: With his uſual *Fierceneſs* he ſeem'd to brandiſh the *Original Contract* in his Hand, and in his Mouth had a Label with the *Indiſpenſible Duty of Reſiſtance*. THE ANCIENT VIRTUE OF THAT *ENGLISH-MAN* EXERTED ITSELF, AND SHONE OUT IN FULL LUSTRE IN THIS GLORIOUS WORK. My Ears were ſtun'd with the Din of ſtrong Words, ſo familiar to this full-mouth'd Pleader. I found him every where ſtretching his Throat with *Conſtitution*, *Original*, *Fundamental*, *Eſſential*, *Eternal*: Terms which he commonly throws out looſely and at random; but whenever he attempts to apply them, or form any Argument with

*Clarend. Vol. 1. p. 213.*

*Ibid. 230.*

*P. 22.*

*P. 23.*

with them, he is ſure to add Nonſenſe to his Noiſe. One Inſtance of this kind will be as much, as you can bear.

P. 22. *The Nature*, ſays he, *of our Conſtitution is that* (*i. e.* the Nature) of a *Limited Monarchy*. Can theſe Words poſſibly carry any Meaning in them? Let us however allow him to mean, that by our Conſtitution the Power of the Crown is limited. He goes on, *The*

Ibid. *Terms of ſuch a Conſtitution expreſs an Original Contract*. What are the *Terms* of a *Conſtitution?* I muſt make out a Meaning for him again, before he can be underſtood. As far as I can gueſs, what he aims at is this, That the Power of the Crown being limited, implys an Original Contract, agreed upon by the mutual Conſent of Prince and People: And was this allow'd him, yet he blunders on, and confounds all again; for he ſays, this *Origi-*

P. 23. *nal Contract is an Eternal Truth*. So little does he underſtand the Subject he ſpeaks of, or the Words he ſpeaks in, that he does not ſee a Contradiction in Terms. It mov'd my Indignation to

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ſee *Sound* and *Forehead* in this falſe Orator paſs for Argument, and *Treaſon* for Liberty of Speech.

The Name that leads up the Van of the *ſecond Day*, rais'd my Imagination to a great Height: What could be naturally expected from one of *Character* and *Station* in his Profeſſion, from one ally'd to the beſt *Pen* the *Long Robe* can boaſt of, what but the united Force of Law and Eloquence? I had before met with nothing but what I expected; but here, I confeſs, I was extremely diſappointed. 'Twas indeed ſome Eaſe to me, to be reliev'd a little from Sonorous Language; but the manner of Arguing, methought, continu'd in the ſame Strain. From *Eternal Truths* the Scene was only chang'd to *Self-evident Truths*. *It is Self-evident that the Honour of Her Majeſty's Government ſtands upon the Juſtice of the Revolution.* This Propoſition I thought to be the moſt diſputable one, and to carry the leaſt Conviction with it, of any that ever ſet up for *Self-evidence*. But if it be *Self-* P. 47.

 *evident*,

*evident*, why have ſeveral of theſe ingenious Diſputants taken ſo much uſeleſs Pains to *prove* it? Since Men of their Learning may be preſum'd to know, that a *Self-evident* Propoſition is ſo far from wanting a Proof, that it is not capable of any. There is a Conſequence of this Gentleman's, that has a much better Title to *Self-evidence*, than this *Maxim* of his can pretend to. I ſhould not be juſt to him, if I did not mention it: becauſe the whole Streſs of his Argument againſt thoſe, who deny the *Juſtice of the Revolution*, depends upon it. He proceeds in the Rational way, and lays down his Principles: That *the Law is the Meaſure of the Prince's Authority, and the People's Subjection*; and that *The Law has its Being and Efficacy from Common Conſent*: And then comes that terrible Conſequence, that is for ever to ſilence and confound all the Patrons of *Non-Reſiſtance*. For *to place the Law, the Meaſure of the Prince's Authority, and the People's Subjection, upon any other Foundation than Common Conſent, is to take away the Obligation*

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*ligation this Notion of Common Conſent puts both Prince and People under to obſerve the Laws.* The Sequel is undeniable; but it is a little clouded by the Length of the Expreſſion: 'Twill be clearer, if we put it in ſhorter Terms, as thus; *If our Obligation to Obedience is founded upon Common Conſent, than to take away Common Conſent, is to take away the Obligation, upon which our Obedience is founded.* Or thus in other Terms the Conſequence may ſtill appear more Evident; *If a Building is ſupported by a Prop, then to take away the Prop, is to take away what ſupports the Building.* What can be more ſolidly and clearly argu'd? And yet if any one ſhould be ſo perverſe, as to deny the Suppoſition, *That the Building is ſupported by a Prop*, then, tho' the Prop were taken away, the Building might ſtand; but the Argument indeed will fall to the Ground: and all the *Demonſtration*, by which this profound Reaſoner eſtabliſhes the *Juſtice of Reſiſtance*, is at laſt reduc'd to what the Learned call *begging the Queſtion*. The Reſt of his Speech I

had before read in the *Obſervator*, and it was nauſeous to me to ſwallow the ſame indigeſted Crudities, that had given me Qualms every *Wedneſday* and *Saturday for ſome Years.*

Changing my Company little mended the Matter. I have heard often, that when Men once part with their Principles, it's no unuſual thing for them at the ſame time to loſe their Senſe too. However I could not but feel ſome Pity in myſelf, to ſee ſo active
P. 58. a *Patriot of his Country* dwindle into a flat inſipid *Expoſitor* of a Sermon.

At Page 59. I was ſurpriz'd to find myſelf in the midſt of the *Leviathan*, inſtead of a Parliamentary Harrangue. Here indeed was a Multitude of *Ner-*
P. 278. *vous Obſervations*, that *Man was made in*
P. 59. *a State of Perfection; and the Rectitude of that State ſuppoſes the abſence of all thoſe Crimes, which are the Objects of Government, and which Government is to reform*; and therefore *Government could not be one End of Man's Creation*: Or there could

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be no ſuch thing, as Government in the State of Perfection. Tho', if the *Scripture* could have as much Credit with this Philoſophical Speaker, as Mr. *Hobbes* has; he might have found there, that Man was born God's *Subject*, that he Actually receiv'd *Commands* from God in the *State of Perfection*, and was inveſted by his Creator with the *Dominion over all the Earth*. And I fancy this acute Gentleman would be hard put to it to find out a Scheme, in which *Dominion* and *Subjection* might ſubſiſt without *Government*. The Whole ſeem'd to be a Diſcourſe not yet arriv'd to its full Growth, ſomething between a *Boy* and a *Man*.

After I had gone a Page or two further, I was again overwhelm'd with a mighty Torrent of ſtrong Expreſſions; and I quickly diſcover'd I was reading a *Charm*, made up of a *String* of Words that never met together before; and ſo deſign'd, I ſuppoſe, to *Faſcinate*: In one Sentence, I met with *Trumpet*——*Sion*——*Pulpit*——*Cudgels*——*gilded Pill*——*Religion* P. 62. P. 61.

*Religion*——*Divinity*——*Morality*; in the next, with *ſap*——*undermine*——*Foundations*——*Natural Baſis*——*Fundamental Strength*——*underſet with Imaginary Props and Buttreſſes, which do at beſt but ill ſupport a ſhaken Foundation*——*ſtriking at the Root*——*digging up Foundations*——The Words, I perceiv'd, were all to be Pronounc'd in a *Breath*, which I being not able to do, could not find out, what might be the ſecret Virtue of this *Inchantment*.

Out of *Witchcraft* I fell, methoughts, into *Hieroglyphicks*: For tho' the Gentleman at the Entrance is ſo kind to himſelf, as to ſay, he *takes a Method* in his Speech, and that he thinks *ſomewhat to the Purpoſe*, after a few Lines I began to ſuſpect the Language had been changed upon me; it was to me all *Egyptian* and *Ethiopick*: and I was ſo far from having any of my *Paſſions* engag'd, that with all the Study I could employ, I could not come at the Meaning of a Syllable. At laſt, after having perplex'd myſelf a long while in vain, I found

P. 64.

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'twas only ſome *Rubbage*, *with which he has an Excellent Talent at Puzzling common Senſe*; and that all which had been ſaid, was compriz'd in this clear and elegant Concluſion, That *if the Force before the Revolution, which ſuppreſs'd Her Majeſty's Hereditary Right to the Crown, had not been remov'd by the Revolution, as 'twas, Her Majeſty's Title would never have been able to have exerted itſelf; and if ever the Doctor, or any of his Accomplices ſhould ever be able ſo to ſhock the Revolution, as to Remove what Built upon it, that Force, which the Revolution remov'd, will return again, and oppreſs the Queen's Title to the Crown, as it did before.* A Sentence, that for the Energy of the Senſe, and the Beauty of Expreſſion, ought to be writ in *Letters* of *Gold!* Indeed, I muſt own, the Orator a little touch'd me, when he came to the *Aggravating Circumſtances* of the Priſoner's Crime, in Preaching his Sermon at St. *Paul's*. 1ſt. *Becauſe 'twas Preach'd by a Divine of the Church of* England, *as by Law Eſtabliſh'd* (for if a *Diſſenter* had Preach'd at St. *Paul's*, 'twould, no doubt, have been very

P. 63.

P. 70.

Ibid.

very far from being a *High Crime* and *Miſdemeanour.*) 2ly. *Becauſe 'twas Preach'd in the Cathedral Church of the Metropolis of this Kingdom*; and not only ſo, but, 3ly. *Before the Lord-Mayor, and Court of Aldermen of the City of* London. Theſe *Circumſtances* indeed began to have their Influence with me; but when I conſider'd, that *Henry Sacheverell* D. D. *in Epiſcopal Orders*, when he was appointed to Preach at St. *Paul*'s before the Magiſtrates of the City, could not poſſibly avoid any one of the ſaid *three* Circumſtances, they left no deep Impreſſion upon me to the Doctor's Prejudice.

Proceeding further, I ſaw the Names of *Hooker*, *Grotius*, *Tully*, *Ariſtotle*, *Atterbury*. This pompous Appearance made me immediately fancy, I ſhould be now entertain'd with ſome refin'd Thoughts, ſome Depths of Learning. But the Scraps of thoſe Excellent Authors ſerv'd only to ſhew their own Inimitableneſs, and expoſe the Declamation they were tagg'd to. Indeed

deed theſe *Purple Patches* quite put me out of conceit with the *Coat:* And the *Soldier* might have paſs'd Muſter much better, had it not been for the Affectation of the *Scholar*. The Cloſe of this Learned Harrangue, which propoſes, *what Doctrines of this kind ſhall or ſhall not be preach'd* by the Clergy, put me in mind of thoſe bleſſed Days, when the Church was under the Direction of *Lieutenant-Generals*: That ſort of *Hierarchy*, I think, did not prove ſo *ſafe* and *flouriſhing*, as to make any good Man wiſh, the Church ſhould ever again be *Militant* in that ſenſe. P. 77.

From hence I advanc'd in a Spirit, very full of Moderation, without any ſenſible Diſorder, to *Page* 83. where I began to recollect what I had heard of ſome Miſtake in the Delivery of this Speech: And I am inclin'd to believe the Blunder ſtill remains in the *Print of the Book*. In the Edition I have by me, it runs thus; P. 68.

MY Lords, *the Charge againſt the Doctor in this Second Article is a Crime of a very heinous Nature: It has always been eſteem'd one of the happy Conſequences of the late Revolution, that her Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects, by a Legal Indulgence granted to Diſſenters, were united in Intereſt and Affection, in the Defence of Her Majeſty's Sacred Perſon and Government.*

*It is too well known, my Lords, how in former times, when Popery had almoſt prevail'd in the Ruin of our State and Church, the Proteſtants of the Kingdom were, by the Artifice of Papiſts, ſet againſt each other, that by ſuch Diviſions Popiſh Tyranny might be Eſtabliſhed amongſt us.*

*The Act of Parliament, made in the firſt Year of the Reign of their late Majeſties King* William *and Queen* Mary, *to exempt Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Church of* England *from the Penalties of certain Laws, was made to defeat any ſuch future*

*future Attempts of the Papiſts; The Preamble of the Act declares, that* ſome Eaſe to ſcrupulous Conſciences in the Exerciſe of Religion, may be an effectual Means to unite HER Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects in Intereſt and Affection.

*We have ſeen, my Lords, the good Effects of the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature in making this Act, Her Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects are now all eaſie under Her Adminiſtration; and how many Diſſenters have we ſeen, who ſince the Toleration are become ſincere Converts to the Church. And I may ſay, that by this Toleration the Prejudices of the Diſſenters in general wear off, and their Number daily decreaſes.*

*And yet with what odious Colours, and Language unbecoming a Divine, do's the Doctor paint out this Toleration, and how does he factiouſly endeavour to excite and ſtir up People againſt it?*

*'Tis, my Lords, a poor Shift which the Doctor makes in his Answer, that he knows of no Toleration granted by Law; and yet in the same Answer he owns, there is an Indulgence, which the Government hath condescended to give Dissenters. My Lords, The Word* Indulgence *is no more in the Act of* Parliament, *than the Word* Toleration; *and it is well known that the Act of* Parliament *he alludes to is every where, not only in Courts of Justice, but even in* Parliament, *called* The Toleration Act; *and is frequently so called by your Lordships, in the Account of your Lordships* Proceedings *in* Parliament, *in Relation to the Bill against* Occasional Conformity, *which Account was Published and* Printed *by your Lordships Order.*

*When the Doctor says, that he has not been able to inform himself that a Toleration hath been granted by Law, it plainly seems to import, as if the Doctor doubted of the Authority of the* Parliament, *that made that Law; it looks like the common Sophistry*

*phistry of Papists and Jesuits, who pretend to own the Church of* England *as by Law Establish'd; because they disown the Authority of all our Laws made since the Reformation.*

*My Lords, Her Majesty hath always been pleased graciously to declare, She will defend this Toleration, and this Her Gracious Resolution has, among the innumerable Blessings of Her Reign, united all Her Protestant Subjects in their Loyalty and Duty to Her.*

*The Commons rest assured that your Lordships will always assist these Gracious Purposes of Her Majesty; and that as there can hardly be any Instance given of so Seditious and Barefaced an Attempt against the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, as the Doctor hath been guilty of, So your Lordships will, by an Exemplary Punishment suitable to so high a Crime, vindicate the Authority of Parliaments, and give an effectual Discouragement for the Future, to all such Turbulent and Seditious Preachers.*

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The Paragraphs ſeem to be quite inverted. *Jacob* has us'd them, as he does his *two Left* Legs. The Natural Order of them muſt certainly be, as I have here replac'd them; and which I am told ſince by a Gentleman of Credit, is, as far as he remembers, the ſame he happen'd to ſee in the *Original* at a certain *Recorder*'s.

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*The Act of Parliament, made in the firſt Year of the Reign of their late Majeſties King* William *aud Queen* Mary, *to exempt Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Church of* England *from the Penalties of certain Laws, was made to defeat any ſuch future Attempts of the Papiſts; The Preamble of the Act declares, That* ſome Eaſe to ſcrupulous Conſciences in the Exerciſe of Religion, may be an effectual Means to unite HER Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects in Intereſt and Affection.

*And yet with what odious Colours, and Language unbecoming a Divine, do's the Doctor paint out this Toleration, and how does he factiouſly endeavour to excite and ſtir up People againſt it?*

The Speech appears, you perceive, *now* in its true Beauty; the Tranſitions are more eaſy and natural, the Thread of Reaſoning finer and cloſer; and it ends, tho' not at all Shorter, yet much Quicker. I muſt not forget to tell you, that the Gentleman I mention'd, could not inform me, whether the Words, HER MAJESTY's, *&c.* printed here as part of the *Preamble* of an Act made in the 1ſt Year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, were in the Paper he ſaw, or no.

After this, a ſort of *Drowzineſs* ſtole upon me, which gradually I found increas'd, till at laſt I was ſtartled out of it by a great *Splutter* and *Chattering*, which was made in *Page* 92, and ended in ſuch an *impetuous Noiſe and bawling Oratory*, that the very Reading diſturb'd my Head, and I almoſt wiſh'd myſelf lull'd aſleep again.

P. 95.

No

No ſooner had I paſs'd thro' this *Hurrican*, but there open'd a more agreeable Scene, than I had yet ſeen. Not that I found even here any thing anſwerable to the Character of a great Orator: I ſaw nothing of the ſublime, or copious way of Speaking, no flowing Style, no Roundneſs of Period, no maſterly Skill in aggravating the Crime, or moving the Paſſions. However, there was a Subtlety of Reaſoning, a Quickneſs of Expreſſion, that would keep up the Attention of any Reader: There was ſomething of the true Spirit of an *Accuſer* in it; only there was one Circumſtance wanting, which ſhould be preſerv'd in all Accuſations, not to run too much upon the *Invective*. *Quintilian* makes this wiſe Remark, That in *Impeaching*, *we gain more by raiſing Envy, than by Railing*: *The former Method makes our Adverſary hateful, and the latter ourſelves.* And 'twas with no ordinary Commotion of Mind, that I experienc'd the Truth of this Obſervation. L. 6. 2.

After this Diſcompoſure, you may imagin, that 'twas no diſagreeable a Variety to be brought into the Company of Courtiers; who were ſo Civil and Well-bred, in avoiding to ſay any thing, which might raiſe ſuch Storms in me again, that I poſſeſs'd my Soul in as ſoothing a *Rêverie*, as if I had been reading a *French* Tragedy.

I have here given you as ſhort a Sketch as I could, of the different Turns my Paſſions took, in the Peruſal of theſe Performances: You ſee how ſeldom they are rais'd; and when they are, how little they go along with the *Speaker*. One of theſe, you know, is a certain Sign of indifferent Oratory; and the other, of a bad Cauſe.

After I had gon thro' the Accuſation, and came to the other part of the Tryal, I ſoon perceiv'd how the Scene was chang'd; and was not leſs pleas'd than the Hero was, when he had left behind him the *Sons of Titan*, when he had paſs'd by the Abode of the *Furies*——*Horriſono ſtridentes cardine portas*, and arriv'd at the happier Regions. At my very

very Entrance into the *Defence*, another View was open'd to me;

*Largior hic campos æther & lumine veſtit*
*Purpureo*——

The Honour of the Crown, the Duty of the Subject, the Innocency of the Perſon accus'd, and the Conformity of his Doctrine to the Sence of the Church and of the State, was diſplay'd and defended with that perfect Knowledge of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, that Clearneſs of Reaſoning, that Power of Eloquence, that Addreſs to the noble Judicature, that in every Period I ſaw the Lawyer, the Orator, and the Gentleman. When I came to the End of the Speech, I was ſorry 'twas no longer; and before I went any further, was tempted to go over it again. Upon a *ſecond* Reading, the maſterly Diſpoſition, and Conduct of the whole Argument, appear'd to me with more Advantage; and the ſeveral Reflections here and there interſpers'd, were more entertaining to me, when I obſerv'd how Proper they were in themſelves, and how Properly they were plac'd. 'Twas a Pleaſure

ſure to me, to ſee how the Judicious Pleader avoided all that was Trivial, how many Miſtakes of the Managers he paſs'd over; and when he took notice of any, with how much Decency and Good manners he touch'd upon them, and turn'd off quick to his Buſineſs again. But there was nothing I was more taken with, than the great Dexterity he ſhew'd in removing the Prejudices, and gaining upon the Minds o the Audience. Where the Point is nice, and he ſeems dubious, what Reception 'twould meet with, how skilfully does he make his way to it? After he finds the way open to him, how exactly does he Judge, where he may give the Reins to his Eloquence, and where he is to ſtop? I was ſaying ſomething after this manner to a Gentleman lately come into the Country; and he anſwer'd me, as *Æſchines* did thoſe, who commended *Demoſthenes*'s Oration for *Cteſiphon*, *What would you ſay, had you heard him ſpeak?* For ſurely, ſays he, never any thing was ſpoken to greater Advantage. The ſeveral Parts of his Specch

were

were humour'd with all the proper Riſings and Fallings of a very melodious Voice; and the Decorum of his Geſture was inimitable.

I have not room to do that Juſtice to the reſt of the Council, as to enter into the Particulars of their Defence: But after the Ramblings and Ravings of ſome Orators, that went before them, their intelligible and rational way of Speaking and Arguing, was very agreeable to me. They ſtated the Objections fairly; and to my Apprehenſion, more clearly, than the Managers themſelves had done: They purſu'd the Argument they propos'd, ſo that I never loſt ſight of the Queſtion; a Misfortune that often happen'd to me in the former part of the Tryal. And as they kept cloſe to their Point, ſo they preſerv'd all due Regard to their Superiors, before whom they ſtood; and they were not too much over-aw'd by the Admonition, that one of the *Managers* gave them, *to have a Care what they ſaid*; but ſpoke with that Freedom and Courage, that became the Patrons of a Good Cauſe. P. 124.

I

I would not paſs over the Concluſion of the Defence, tho' I am at a loſs how to explain the Impreſſions it made upon me. To me, the Doctor ſeem'd to ſhew an exquiſite Judgment in chuſing out ſuch matter, as was proper for himſelf, rather than his Council, to inſiſt upon; and to be no leſs Happy in the Choice and Propriety of his Words, than of his Thoughts. I ſcarce remember any thing I ever read with ſo much Attention and Pleaſure; for there was the true Spirit and Genius of Ancient Eloquence, upon a Subject, in which my Mind was all the way thoroughly concern'd and engag'd. I will not pretend to point out the ſeveral Beauties and Excellencies of the Speech to You, who are ſo good a Judge of them: But give me leave to ſay, That, when the Doctor had, with great Modeſty and Submiſſion, deſcrib'd the hard Circumſtances he was under, when he had mov'd the Compaſſion of his Hearers, and got poſſeſſion of their Minds, his riſing afterwards into a ſteady Profeſſion of his Principles, a juſt Contempt

of

of his Sufferings, and an Affectionate Zeal for the Church and the Conſtitution, was admirable, and had a wonderful Effect upon one of the moſt Auguſt Aſſemblies, that ever met in the World. For I hear the Paſſions of the Audience were ſo touch'd, that nothing could be more remarkable, except the Confuſion that appear'd in the Countenances of his Accuſers.

I have now acquainted You in what Humour I paſs'd thro' the Tryal; give me leave now to eaſe my ſelf of ſome Reflections, that I afterwards made upon the Performance of the *Managers*. You will not expect any Remarks, that regard the *Language*; that, you will find, will be an endleſs Work. None of their doubty Harrangues, I preſume, will ever be thought the Standard of the *Engliſh Tongue*, by any but *Foreigners*, and Writers of *Bibliotheques*. My Obſervations ſhall therefore be confin'd to the matter of their Speeches; and here too, I ſhall only ſingle out ſuch Arguments and Aſſertions, as may give the beſt Light into the

Deſign of the Proſecution, and into the Views of that Party, that ſo violently promoted it.

In the firſt place I can't but obſerve, that I find great Confuſion and Contradiction among the *Managers* themſelves, about ſeveral Points. It is above my Capacity, I muſt own, to reconcile 'em; and therefore I ſhall ſet them together, *Pro* and *Con*, and give them the ſame Liberty, as ſome of them had during the Tryal, to Explain themſelves.

As to the Grounds of the Doctor's Impeachment, 'tis laid down in *Page* 17. That 'tis for *his making the chief Turn of his Diſcourſe, to cry up Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience:* And *p.* 18. He did ill *to Preach up Paſſive Obedience* on the 5th of *Novemb. when there was no occaſion, at that time, to be ſo earneſt to cry down Reſiſtance.* I thought always, that the 5*th of November* had been appointed, by our Law, for this very Purpoſe. But, it ſeems, this Gentleman thinks the *Blowing up of a Parliament-Houſe* ſo ſlight a Thing, that *there was no occaſion, at that time, to cry down*

*down* the Principles of thoſe Men, who deſign'd it. And 'tis a High-Crime and Miſdemeanour for a Clergy-man to *cry down Reſiſtance* upon that Day, when he is guilty of a Breach of an *Act of Parliament*, if he does not Preach againſt *Rebellion*. It is a little unhappy, that this *Orator* ſhould be ſo loſt in his Tropes and Figures, as to forget his *Law*. But he goes on, and gives another Reaſon, *Why there was no occaſion of Preaching thus at this time.* It muſt *ſavour*, he ſays, *of ſome wicked Deſign, to be talking ſo unſeaſonably of this Subject, where the Preaching theſe Doctrines was needleſs. For there is certainly no occaſion to Preach Non-Reſiſtance to Her Majeſty's Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, who have never ſhewn the leaſt Inclination to give Diſturbances to this preſent Government.* I hope none of Her Majeſty's Subjects have *now* any *Inclination* to *diſturb* Her Government: But is it *needleſs* therefore to Preach up the Doctrine of *Obedience*, and confirm the Minds of the People in the Principles of Loyalty, ſo as they may never be *inclin'd*

for

for the future, to give Her any *Diſturbances?* Suppoſing there were not one *Atheiſt* in *Southwark*, would it have been thought ſo *unſeaſonable*, as to *ſavour of ſome wicked Deſign*, if the Doctor had Preach'd againſt Irreligion and Infidelity? But Preaching Obedience at *this time* is ſo *Criminal*, that in *p.* 48. the Streſs of all the Charge is laid upon *Reviving* the *Principles of unlimited Non-Reſiſtance*; and the Queſtion is ask'd Emphatically, *Can the Queen's Title receive any advantage from them? or can it be ſeaſonable to Preach this Doctrine in the Reign of the Beſt of Princes, which can be of no uſe to any, but the worſt?* Theſe are *Political* Paradoxes, I confeſs, much above my Comprehenſion, how the *Principles* of *Non-Reſiſtance* ſhould be any *Diſadvantage to the Queen's Title*; or how it ſhould be *unſeaſonable* to Preach them up in *the Reign of* the *Beſt of Princes.* One would naturally imagin, that if ever this Doctrine could be *ſeaſonable*, it muſt be in a *good* Reign.

Thus

Thus far, we ſee, the Reaſon of the Impeachment is grounded upon the Doctor's Preaching this Doctrine *at this time.* Tho' one of theſe Orators, in another place, ſays, *That this Delinquent is now brought to the Bar, to put a Stop to theſe Malicious Practices now on foot, in ſpreading falſe News,* (in a Sermon) *and HORRIBLE STORIES of the great Men, and great Officers of the Kingdom.* This one may call a *Fifth* Article of *Impeachment*; for I don't find *ſpreading* of *falſe News* mention'd in *thoſe*, Exhibited by the *Houſe of Commons.* It was alledg'd indeed in General, that there were Reflections in the *Sermon*, upon ſome *Great Men*: But I don't find they thought fit to produce any *Horrible Stories* of them, out of it. It is true, in another *Audience* 'twas urg'd, that there was an *Ugly Word* in the Sermon; which, tho' moſt People believe was the chief Motive of the *Impeachment*, was, to our Surprize, never made any uſe of in the *Tryal.* And if the

*Delinquent was brought to the Bar* for theſe *Horrible Stories*, the paſſing them all over in ſilence in the Charge againſt him, muſt be ſure a very odd way of *Putting a ſtop to them.*

The Gentleman, *p.* 60. ſays, that the Doctor *makes this Exception* (i. e. the Revolution) *the Inſtance of an unjuſt Reſiſtance, by an Ironical Aſſertion of the late King's ſolemnly diſclaiming the leaſt Imputation of Reſiſtance in his Declaration*: And an Ironical Aſſertion, he tells us, is a *Figure of Speech very well underſtood, and known to be the moſt biting Sarcaſm.* It puzzles me very much, to find out with what Propriety of Language an *Ironical Aſſertion* is call'd a *Figure of Speech*; or how this *Figure* call'd an Irony, is ſaid to be *very well underſtood. Ariſtotle*, whom I take to be as great a Maſter of *Rhetorical* Knowledge as this Gentleman, tells me, the Deſign of this *Figure* is to *diſſemble* the Meaning of our Words, and to *cover* them ſo, that they may not be ſo *very well underſtood.*

P. 60.

I am inform'd by the ſame Author too, that a *Sarcaſm* is indeed a ſort of *Irony*; but that there may be an *Irony*, which is no *Sarcaſm*: And ſo I am again at a loſs to comprehend, how this *Figure of Speech*, call'd an *Irony*, is *known to be the moſt Biting Sarcaſm.* I little apprehended, that the Uſe of this Figure ſhould ever riſe up in Judgment againſt the Doctor: The *diſguis'd Ironical* way of Expreſſion, ſeems to be ſo far from the Character of the *Doctor*'s Writing, that I muſt confeſs, I could never meet with one *Irony* yet in all his Works. However, it ſeems, the Doctor is ſo given to *ſubterfuge*, that *from hence*, we are told, *the Commons obſerve, that he is a Conceal'd Man, and of a Dangerous Spirit; and as ſuch, they bring him hither to Reform him, and to be an Example to others.* P. 59. And 'tis moſt certain, they have had their End in this matter; they have taken effectual Care he ſhould no longer be a *Conceal'd* Man, and have made him a ſufficient *Example* to the reſt of the Clergy.

There are others, who affirm, that
P. 74. the *Doctrines* in *General aſſerted by the Doctor*, are *Criminal.* One ſays, That to *Preach up Obedience to the Supreme Power as a Chriſtian Duty only, without meddling with Politicks, wants an Excuſe.* This, I ſuppoſe, muſt follow from a Fundamental Poſition, which has of late been Eſtabliſh'd, that *all Preaching is Inexcuſable.*

Another contends, That *to aſſert*
P. 61. *Non-Reſiſtance in a boundleſs and unlimited Senſe, is to ſap and undermine the very Foundations of our Government*, to *remove the Natural Baſis and Fundamental Strength of our Conſtitution, and to ſtrike at the Root, and dig up the Foundation of our preſent and future Settlement*; and therefore *teaching the People to ſwallow* (an ingenions Phraſe for Preaching) *theſe pernicious, Deſtructive Doctrines, highly deſerves, and loudly calls for their Lordſhips ſpeedy and Exemplary Juſtice.*

How-

However, the Gentleman that immediately ſucceeds, is of a very different Opinion: He ſays, that the Doctor does *not lay down this Aſſertion of Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience, as a Doctrine he would teach his Congregation*—— I ſuppoſe he means, *to ſwallow*: For if he had, there had been no Harm in it; for the Doctrine he owns *is not only the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, but as Ancient as Government; becauſe otherwiſe, 'tis impoſſible Government ſhould ſubſiſt.* He owns, *That the* Doctor *might very well think, that what he now aſſerts by the* EQUITY, *or, as we call it, the* REASON *of the Doctrine, preach'd by the Apoſtles, was well warranted; and finds fault with the Doctor, for reſtraining the Apoſtle's* Doctrine *of Non-Reſiſtance to all things Lawful; for it commands Obedience to the Supreme Power, tho' in Things contrary to Nature, even to ſuffer Death. If the Doctor had been contented with the Liberty he took of preaching up the Duty of Paſſive Obedience, in the moſt extenſive*

P. 24.

P. 65.

P. 66.

P. 65.

P. 67.

manner

*manner he had thought fit, and would have ſtopp'd there, their Lordſhips would not have had the Trouble, in relation to him,*
P. 68. and 268. *that they now have: For the Proſecution is not for Preaching the Peaceable Doctrine of Abſolute Obedience:* He might have *Preach'd it as long as he pleas'd*; the very *Commons would have taken no Offence at it: But the Reaſon he is now Proſecuted is, his refuſing to Obey that*
P. 66. *IMPLICIT Law, that was made in the 1ſt. of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *in Juſtification of the Revolution.* Thus does this worthy *Manager* acquit the Doctor from any Crime in Preaching up *Abſolute Obedience*; it is, he aſſures us, an *Ancient*, a *Well-warranted*, a *Chriſtian*, and a very *Peaceable* Doctrine, tho' his Brethren give it the Term of *Unparallell'd*, *Peſtilential*, *Pernicious*, and *Deſtructive.* He ſeems to be pleading *Booty*, and not only betrays the Truſt repos'd in him by the Commons, but makes the Foot, upon which he puts the Impeachment, ridiculous: For can any one imagine, there

was

was ſuch a thing as an IMPLICIT Law *made* in King *William*'s time? And muſt not he be ſuppos'd to be a better Lawyer, than to think, that any Man can be puniſh'd for *refuſing to Obey* any IMPLICIT *Law* whatever?

*Sometimes the Inquiſition is made on this remarkable Offender, for charging ſo pernicious a Tenet, as that of Abſolute and Unlimited Non-Reſiſtance, to be a Fundamental Part of our Government; and for aſſerting this as the Doctrine of the Church of* England. The Gentleman thinks *this a great Reproach to the Excellency of our Conſtitution*, and *a Diſhonour to the Crown*; and has ſo Compaſſionate and Tender a Concern for the Church, *That he muſt eſteem it a high Reflection on Religion itſelf, and the Church of* England, *to Charge its pureſt Doctrines with ſuch Conſtructions.* This Pleader, you ſee, has the Generoſity to appear as *Council* for the *Church*: And doubtleſs, he muſt have its Intereſt very much at Heart, who would P. 24.

would perſwade her, upon this *Occaſion*, rather than hurt herſelf, to renounce thoſe Principles, which ſhe has always taught: Who would adviſe her to prove a *Falſe Mother*, rather than run the risk of being in any *Peril*, for owning a *True Son*.

At other Times we are told, that the Impeachment was made not ſo much to bring the Delinquent to Juſtice, as to *prevent the growing of ſuch*
P. 77. *an Evil, as theſe Doctrines are.* "*He is an Inconſiderable Tool of a Party, no ways worth the-trouble we have given your Lordſhips. But we look upon it, that your Lordſhips Judgment in this Caſe, will be giving a SANCTION, which will determine, what Doctrines of this Kind ſhall, or ſhall not be Preach'd. 'Tis our*
P. 22. *Duty not only to demand your Lordſhips Juſtice on ſuch a Criminal, but clearly and*
P. 24. *openly to aſſert our Foundations: And it is upon this Foundation, that we doubt not, but your Lordſhips will in a Parliamentary way, faſten a Brand of Indelible Infamy*

*Infamy upon this Enſlaving Tenet of Paſſive Obedience. My Lords, The Commons have brought this Offender before you, with a View, not only to Detect and Puniſh his Offence, but to obtain an Occaſion in the moſt Publick and Authentick Manner, to avow the Principles, and juſtify the Means, upon which the preſent Government is founded: And we hope the Record of this Proceeding will remain a laſting Monument to Deter all Aſſerters of ſuch Peſtilential and Unparallell'd Doctrines.* Here indeed the Diſguiſe is taken off, and the *Principles and Foundations aſſerted* in a moſt ſtrenuous manner. Here the true Senſe and Meaning of the Impeachment appears in its full Luſtre, in its genuine Colours. The Tenets of the Church muſt be *Reform'd*, and her Doctrines *Branded*; the Parliament muſt give a *Sanction* to Divinity, and *Hoadly's Meaſures* muſt be eſtabliſh'd by Law. *'Tis not material*, we are inform'd, *what the Opinions of ſome particular Divines*, or *even the Doctrines generally preach'd in ſome particular Reign, may have been concerning* P. 71.

P. 261. *Paſſive Obedience.* What have *Divines to do to Preach up Obedience to Higher Powers? It would be much more for the Honour of Religion, and the Peace and Felicity both of the Sovereign and Subject, if this Queſtion of Submiſſion were left by the Divines to thoſe, who make the Municipal Laws of the Country, or the Nature*

P. 48. *of Laws in general their Study. 'Tis a Fantaſtical Scheme to blend Queſtions of Divinity with Queſtions of Law; Religion has nothing to do to extend the Authority of the Prince, or the Submſſion of the Subject. The uſeleſs Labours, to ſay no worſe of them, of ſeveral Divines on theſe Subjects ought to be buried in utter Oblivion. The Homilies in this Caſe are*

P. 251. *IMMATERIAL.* And ſo we find *Weſtminſter-Hall* is a fitter Place to Expound St. *Peter* or St. *Paul* in, than *Weſtminſter Abbey.* Theſe Gentlemen have the Courage to ſpeak out what they intend; when all the reſt are mumbling Thiſtles, or are out of the Secret. 'Tis not their deſign to Puniſh Dr. *Sacheverell*; but to *reform* and *new* Model the *Church*: to tell her what Doctrines ſhe ought to teach;

and

and to give the Sanction of Authority to the Rebellious Principles they encourage. And what more was there, or could be urg'd againſt the *Church* by their Glorious Predeceſſors in 40?

The modeſt *Addreſs* to Her Majeſty to prefer a Man, who had been *ſtrenuouſly* aſſerting a Right in Her Subjects to *Rebel*; the appointing a truly *inſignificant Tool of a Party* to juſtify the *Principles* of thoſe, who Rebell'd againſt Her Royal Grandfather, (and upon that Solemn Day, when he ought to have deſcrib'd *Rebellion as the Sin of Witchcraft*, not to *proclaim a Faſt, but to ſound a Trumpet*, in the Manager's Senſe) gave ſufficient Intimations, *what Doctrines* they deſign'd the *Church* ſhould *Teach*, and *what not*. But theſe were only Preludes to that noble Scene, which the *Tryal* was to diſcloſe. 'Twas left to the Managers to publiſh the *Manifeſto*, and to avow openly to the World, what Reformation of *Church-Doctrines* they aim'd at; and to do them Juſtice, they have taken care to

P. 103.

do it in ſuch a manner, that it ſhould
P. 92. be no *Preſumption to cenſure this Proceeding as a Perſecution of the Church*: They have given ſuch plain Proofs of their
P. 280. *noxious Meaning*; the *Tendency* of their
P. 27. Deſigns *lies ſo open* and apparent, that
P. 68. even the *Mob (tho' it be a Cant Word among a ſort of People call'd GYPSIES)* with their groſs Apprehenſions could ſee thro' the Diſguiſe, and plainly perceive the *Church to be in Danger*. Happy indeed was it for the Church and the Conſtitution, that the People's Eyes were open ſo early: Had they been of the other Side, all their Diſorders would have been juſtify'd by theſe Men. *Legion* then would have had the ſame Right to Petition, and to tell their *Repreſentatives* what to do, as in the Year 1700. Their Meetings would have been *voted*, as formerly, to have been made by *Godly*, and well
Clar. Hiſt. Vol 1. 265. *Affected Men*. Had the *Mob*, at this time, inſulted the *Clergy*, had they *Addreſs'd* againſt the Church, had *they*
Ib. 265. *threaten'd to pull down* Weſtminſter-
Ib. Abbey, no doubt *ſeveral Speeches would have*

*have been made in Juſtification of them*, and *Commendation of their Affections*; ſome would have ſaid, *They muſt not diſcourage their Friends*; and there would not have been wanting a Mr. *Pym* to cry out, *God forbid the Houſe of Commons ſhould proceed in any way to diſhearten the People, to obtain their juſt Deſires in ſuch a way.*

But to go on with the Managers. *Revolution* is a Word, I find, that is us'd over and over in every Page, as if the ſounding it perpetually in their Lordſhips Ears, was to ſerve for an Argument againſt the Doctor, or at leaſt an Aggravation of his Crimes: And yet theſe very Gentlemen are not agreed, what ſort of a Thing this ſame *Revolution* was. Some ſay, that by the *Revolution*, the *Frame of the Government was reſtor'd entire and unhurt*; that *the Conſtitution was reviv'd and reſettled: It was a Reſtoration of the Ancient Fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and giving it it's proper Force and Energy.* In other Places it is call'd the *Foundation*

P. 49
P. 208.
P. 505.

*of*

P. 66. *of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment*, and
P. 57. *the firſt Principles of this Government.* Juſt before we were told, the *Ancient Foundation* continu'd, and every thing was built upon that; and here we are aſſur'd, that a *New* One was laid, and that the *Eſtabliſhment of our preſent Government* has no higher a Riſe, than from the *Revolution*: For no Body, I ſuppoſe, can trace it beyond its *firſt Principles.* One Gentleman obſerves,
P. 25. that our *Ancient Conſtitution* has been *confirm'd* particularly by the *Acts of Settlement*; that the *People are bound in*
P. 23. *Duty to Tranſmit the ſame Conſtitution to their Poſterity alſo*: and takes a great deal of Pains to prove with *uncommon Oſtentation*, that there has been a Uniform *Preſervation of this Conſtitution for many Ages, without any Fundamental Change.* And yet his Memory is ſo ſhort, that in another place he ſays, *Since the Revolution, our Conſtitution ſtands now upon a firmer Foundation.* Does
P. 115. the *SAME ANCIENT Conſtitution* ſtand upon a *FIRMER Foundation*, and ſtill is only *uniformly preſerv'd?* Has the

*Foun-*

*Foundation* been *alter'd*, or *new laid*, to make it *FIRMER*, *without any Fundatal Change?* Or has this Gentleman built only according to the new way of *Architecture*, and borrow'd ſome of Mr. *W——s* CORINTHIAN *Buttreſſes*, to *ſupport his Foundation*; or ſome of his *Imaginary Props* at leaſt *to underſet it?* But however the *Revolution* ſtands, whether on an *old Foundation*, or one laid on purpoſe for it, there's ſomething, it ſeems, *ſtands* upon that; for we are told in a Propoſition, which is ſaid to be *Self-evident*, and I am ſure very happily worded, That the *Honour of Her Majeſty's Government ſtands upon the Juſtice of the Revolution.* P. 61. P. 47.

Another Point, which I find the *Managers* not ſo perfectly agreed in, is the Queen's *Title* to the Crown; whether 'tis *Hereditary*, *Parliamentary*, or both. There are but *Two* of them, that I can find, who in the *going thro' the Charge* ſo much as mention Her *Hereditary Right*; and 'tis curſorily with a *Tho'*, and no Streſs at all laid P. 68. 113.

upon

upon it in either place. Nay the firſt is ſo far from allowing it its juſt Weight, that he reckons it a Trifle, in Compariſon with the *Parliamentary* Title; for *tho Her Majeſty has an Hereditary Right to the Crown*, yet he *takes the Acts of Settlement to be Her great SECURITY*. For the reſt of them, they roundly affirm all the Title the Queen has to be *Parliamentary*. The Act of Settle-
P. 66. I. 61. ment is call'd the *firſt Principle*, the *Root*, the *Foundation* of the *Preſent Government*; and Her *Majeſty's Title is*
P. 58. *ſaid to be declar'd* by *that Act*; which declares no other than a *Parliamentary* Title. And *p.* 115. thro' the whole Diſcourſe this Right alone is ſuppos'd to be all Her Majeſty has; and for that very Reaſon, it is affirm'd, that *Her Title* to the *Throne ſtands upon a more ſolid and indiſputable Foundation, than that of any Prince upon Earth*. And this they advance not only in poſitive Terms, but excluſive of the *Hereditary Title*. If the *favourite* and
P. 74. *darling Tenet* of *Hereditary Right be true,*
P. 56. *the Queen is not Queen*. And *whoever*

*ſets*

*ſets himſelf to weaken this Title of Her Majeſty to the Throne, repreſents Her Adminiſtration, like that of One, that has no Title at all.* If there be any ſuch thing as an *Hereditary Title*, we find it often repeated to us, and inculcated, that it is in the *Pretender*, P. 26. *the Prince on t'other ſide of the Water*, P. 63. 17. *One that has this Rightful Title.*

Theſe were ſuch *flaming Opinions*, P. 95. ſuch dangerous Inſinuations, that the *Council*, could not but take notice of them, and Expreſs the juſt Senſe they had of their pernicious Conſequences. Indeed in the *Replication* the Gentleman, who is in Her Majeſty's immediate Service, has the Modeſty to *Explain* himſelf; and tho' he had aſſerted Her *Majeſty's Title to be declar'd by the Act* P. 58. *of Settlement*, yet he ſays, he does not ſo *far aſſert the Parliamentary Title*, as 270. *to deny Her Hereditary Right, which he ſhall ever avow.* And this he profeſſes, not only in his *own*, but in the Name of all his Brethren, the *Managers*; and appeals to their Lordſhips, and the

World, whether any thing had been ſaid by them, *as if they had deny'd the Hereditary Right.* And let their *Lordſhips, and the World* judge, whether there was or no; let the Quotations already produc'd be conſulted, and let us ſee, whether any *forc'd Conſtructions* can thus alter the Senſe of what has been ſo *Emphatically inſiſted upon.* But the other Gentleman, who comes after to aſſiſt in the *Replication*, makes no uſe of the *Excuſe* or *Diſtinction*, that was put in for him: He ſcorns to flinch from his Word, and in his *uſual* ſtrennuous manner, *re-aſſerts* his *true Foundations*, as he calls them, and ſtands to his Defiance of the Queen's *Hereditary* Right.

P. 273.

P. 282.

I can't here forbear comparing the *Queen's Title*, as founded upon the *Parliamentary Right only*, to the *Parliament's* Grant of the *Cuſtoms* to King *Charles* I. and I believe the Compariſon will be thought pretty juſt. The Noble Hiſtorian of thoſe Times tells us, The *Houſe of Commons took notice, that from the Time of his Maje-*

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*Majeſty's coming to the Crown, he had taken the Cuſtoms as his own Right, without any Act of Parliament. They ſaid, no Body could imagin, but that they intended to grant the ſame to his Majeſty, in the ſame manner for his Life, as had been to his Progenitors by Act of Parliament; but that they found ſuch an Act could not preſently be made, becauſe the Book of Rates muſt be reform'd. However,* that *the Continuance of the Collection in the Manner it was in, without any lawful Title, and during the very ſitting of Parliament, would be a Precedent of a very ill Conſequence;* and *make the Right of giving it the more queſtion'd, at leaſt the leſs valu'd.* And *therefore it would be fit,* that *a ſhort Act ſhould be preſently paſs'd, for the Continuance of thoſe Payments for a ſhort Time; againſt the Expiration whereof,* the *Act for granting them for Life, with the Book of Rates,* would *be prepar'd and ready. So they prepar'd with all the Expreſſions of Duty and Affection to the King,* that *can be imagin'd,* and *preſented a Grant of thoſe Duties for a few Months.* In which

*there was a Preamble, diſapproving and condemning all that* had *been done in that Particular, from his Majeſty's firſt coming to the Crown to that time*; and *aſſerting the whole Right to thoſe Payments, to depend upon the Gift of his Subjects*; *and concluded with moſt ſevere Penalties, to be inflicted on thoſe, who ſhould preſume hereafter to collect or receive them otherways, than as they were, or ſhould be granted, by Act of Parliament*; which had never been in any other Act of Parliament declar'd. And the *Hiſtorian* goes on, with this Obſervation: *So all the Revenue the King had to live upon, and* to *provide him Meat, and which he had reaſon to expect, ſhould have been more certainly continu'd to him, was taken INTO their Hands, in order to take it FROM HIM too, whenever they ſhould think it convenient to their other Deſigns*; of *which he ſhortly after found the Miſchief.* I wiſh the *Miſchief* ſome time or other may not be *found* here too: And if this Doctrine of a *ſole Parliamentary* Right prevails, as it is laid out to us by theſe Teachers, and the *Parliament*

*takes*

*takes* the Diſpoſal of Her Majeſty's Crown intirely *INTO their Hands*, without any regard to the *Hereditary* Right: Why may they not *take* it FROM HER *too, whenever they ſhould think it convenient to their other Deſigns?* And why may they not chuſe a *King*, if they pleaſe, as often as they do a *Speaker?*

I muſt confeſs, I was ſtartled at firſt, to find an *Hereditary Right* acknowledg'd in the *Pretender*: I thought always, he had been *Illegitimate*; and that it was the conſtant Senſe of the Nation, that he was ſo. I thought the *Abjuration Oath* had put this out of Diſpute, by declaring that he has no *manner of Right*; yet now, it ſeems, he has an *Hereditary Right*; a very odd ſort of a *Right* ſure, if it be no *manner of Right* at all. But I was ſtill more ſurpriz'd to find, that he was now not only *Own'd*, but affirm'd over and over, to be *Legitimate*, by this very Set of Men, who, I remember, Twenty Years ago, were very induſtrious in raiſing the

firſt Suſpicions of his being *Spurious*; and giving it out always, that they were ready to produce the Proofs of it. The Cry, I perceiv'd, was quite chang'd; and theſe People, I knew, did not uſe to alter their Tone for nothing. I was not long at a loſs to account for this
P. 20. ſhifting of the Scene. *Reflecting backward*, as Sir *James* ſays, I ſaw the View open'd very clearly. I recollected the Treatment this Party us'd towards Her Majeſty, when *Princeſs of Denmark*; the Affronts and Indignities they offer'd to Her Perſon; the reſtleſs Endeavours they made to fruſtrate Her *Acceſſion* to the Throne. I call'd to mind the Indefatigable Pains they took, during all this Reign, in propagating the Notions of the *Legality* of *Reſiſtance*, and the Diſtinguiſhing Encouragement they gave to thoſe, who broach'd them: The utter Neglect and Diſreſpect they ſhew'd to the next Succeſſors in the *Proteſtant Line*. I remember'd the Poſture of Affairs at the Time of the *late Invaſion*; that in *Scotland*, there was not the leaſt Prepa-

ration

ration made againſt it; and that in *England*, 'twas fear'd, that there might be ſo many Well-wiſhers to it, that all good Subjects were very ſhy and reſerv'd in ſpeaking their Fears, or their Thoughts; that the Party, which was then in Power, did nothing at all to hinder it; and that the Diſappointment of that Armament was intirely owing to a Blunder of the *French*. Theſe Facts, I think, want no Comment; they ſpeak ſufficiently for themſelves; and their Doctrines laid down in this *Tryal* can be *no otherways reconcil'd, than by Concluding, what is very plain from their Conduct, that however they are pleas'd to colour and diſguiſe their Diſcourſes, their true End is only to diſengage nad alienate the People's Affections from their preſent Governours.* Such Steps have *they* taken, ſuch Advances have they made towards another *Revolution*, that they prepar'd the People, as much as they could, by infuſing into them the *Principles* of *Reſiſtance*, and the Power of *transferring their Allegiance*, to receive the *Invader*; and whenever he P. 71.

is

is ready to *Invade* us *again*, they have now furniſh'd him with an *Hereditary Right.*

This has help'd me to underſtand the Force of that Remark, which a
P. 57. Learned *Manager* makes, That 'tis *obvious to every one's Obſervation, that, ſince the late Attempt made by the Pretender, this Principle of the utter Illegality of Reſiſtance, on any Pretence whatever, has been eſpous'd and maintain'd with more than ordinary Warmth, and Zeal.* They are angry, you ſee, with this Warmth and Zeal for theſe Principles; and with good Reaſon, ſince it appears, they were ſo contrary to their own. I muſt own, I did not at firſt apprehend, why ſome of the *Clergy*, within *theſe laſt two Years*, have been ſo Zealous in eſpouſing and *maintaining* this *Doctrine* of *Obedience*: But now I am convinc'd of their Sagacity, as well as their Courage, in aſſerting thoſe Apoſtolical Truths at a Seaſon, when the Service of Her Majeſty and the Church moſt require it. If you want a Proof, how juſtly

juſtly theſe Conſequences are charg'd upon thoſe, who deny *Paſſive Obedience* and the *Queen's Hereditary Right*; I refer you to the late Conduct of *Two Clergy-men* in refuſing to Subſcribe an *Addreſs* againſt the *Pretender*. Such Merit it ſeems theſe Principles have, that if this Party had continued in Power much longer, the *Church* wou'd probably have been in *Danger* of ſeeing *Both* of them preferr'd to her higheſt Honours.

*Biſh. of London's Addreſs.*

This may ſerve likewiſe to explain the Management, that has been us'd of late, not only in permitting *Roman Catholick* Agents and Miſſionaries to ſwarm about the City, and to make Proſelytes with Impunity; but in Conniving at all been every Day publiſh'd by that has the Sedition and Treaſon, *Non-jurors*. Have they not openly and in defiance of the Government, deny'd every Title the *Queen* has to the Crown? Have they not in their Writings main-

tain'd the Right of the *Pretender*, and exploded all the Acts of *Settlement*, which have been made ſince the *Revolution*, as null and void? Have our *Revolution-Men* call'd any of them to Account? Has there been any *Impeachment*, or ſo much as a Proſecution at *Common-Law* order'd againſt them. What can explain the Meaning of letting theſe profeſs'd inveterate Enemies of the Eſtabliſhment eſcape unpuniſh'd and uncenſur'd, but great tenderneſs of Conſcience, or great Conformity in *Principle?* They who publickly own the *Pretender*, have it ſeems a Title to the Clemency and Protection of that Government, which they Diſclaim; whilſt an *Abjuring* Divine, who gives all the Proof of his Loyalty, which the Government requires, muſt exſpect no Mercy for an *Innuendo*, or *Suggeſtion*.

Will the ſame Anſwer ſerve for theſe *Libellers*, as ſome give concerning the *Obſervator* and the *Review*; that they

they are *little obſcure Writers, and Shadows of the Church Enemies?* 'Tis notorious, I believe, *how* theſe *two* profligate Scribblers have been ſupported, and by whom: And it is no Secret, by what Hands a *Collection* was carried on for the *latter*, in conſideration of his eminent Services againſt Dr. *Sacheverell*. Thus has this Party diſtinguiſh'd themſelves to be Friends to the *Church* and the *Conſtitution*; and can we have greater Proofs of their Zeal and Affection to both, than to ſee how at the ſame time thro' their means *Leſley* is Conniv'd at, *Hoadly* Countenanc'd, and *Defoe* Rewarded.

The Managers indeed expreſs the moſt Pathetical Concern for the Honour and Welfare of the *Church*. They are for *healing* its *Breaches*, and enlarging its Borders, and bringing every Body into its *Pale*. *To make any Diſtinction between Proteſtants*, is to *deſign a Union with the Church of* Rome. We are aſſur'd, that the Diſſenters do not *CAUSELESLY ſeparate from the Church, and ſo are not guilty of SCHISM.* P. 113. P. 774

They are highly to be Commended and Magnify'd for being good Subjects, and good Chriſtians; ſo that the *Toleration* is not only a *Credit to the Church*, but
P. 83. the way to make *Converts to it.* And therefore we are told upon this Head, that the *preſent Reverend Bench of Biſhops have rais'd the Luſtre and Reputa-*
P. 75. *tion of our Church, to a Degree beyond what their Predeceſſors cou'd do*, by their *EXTENSIVE Zeal* and *Chriſtian Moderation*; As if Charity for the Scruples of thoſe, who do not Communicate with the Church, were a more *Epiſcopal* Character, than a Zeal for the Principles of its Communion; and the only way to give a *Luſtre* to that *Bench*, were to be a *Moderate Biſhop.*

But it ſeems they are not contented with valuing themſelves for their great Devotion to the *Church*, and eſpecially to *ſuch Biſhops*, but with a Modeſty, natural to that Party, muſt call themſelves the only *Friends of the Adminiſtration*, and the only *Lovers of their*

*Coun-*

*Country.* To prepare the Audience, and win upon their Affections, we are told by way of *Preamble*, that the *Purſuit of the other Party after Power is Indefatigable*, and *to obtain which they would make a willing Sacrifice of the Common Liberty; while others, who have a contrary Principle, have acted a quite contrary Part. Have they not contributed every thing, in their Power, to ſtrengthen the Government in Her preſent Majeſty's Hands, as well as the late King's; and that with a Zeal and Conſtancy thro' ſeveral Changes, which nothing but a Principle could inſpire?* What *Principle* they are inſpir'd with, no Body doubts; as little do we queſtion their *Zeal* and *Conſtancy* in it: We have ſeen it eminently Conſpicuous, in Voting Men without any Muſters; and in giving the *Mony* of the Nation away without any Account; in ſtrengthening the Government in thoſe Hands, that have ſquander'd it, or miſapply'd it: in letting the *Navy* Starve, to ſupply the *Army*; and ſupporting the Army in that Place, where the War was leaſt likely

P. 48.

likely to be ended; in *Addreſſing* perpetually for a Safe and Honourable Peace, and defending the Miſmanagement and Exorbitancy of thoſe who have *hindred* it.

'Twould be eaſy to purſue this Subject, and give a *Hiſtory* of this *Party* from the *Revolution*; and it would be a great Entertainment to you to ſee, that in their *Publick* Capacity, they have always preferr'd the Intereſt of the Nation to their own, that they have voted for all ſelf-denying Bills, have been ſo tender of the Liberty and Property of their Fellow Subjects, as to contrive all Means to eaſe them of the Burden of a long War; ſo Loyal to the Queen, as to ſhew all the Regard poſſible to Her Perſon and Prerogative; and ſo Faithful to their Mother-Church, as to ſecure Her Authority by the Excellent Laws they have made, and ſupport Her Dignity by the Eminent Men they have preferr'd: And that in their *Private* Character, they have not only been Examples of

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ſtrict Morality and Virtue themſelves, but have taken ſuch Care of the Educating the Youth, *Committed to their Charge, in Ingenuous Literature, and Sound Religion, that there may never be wanting fit and able Men to ſucceed them, both in Church and State.* But I won't anticipate the Pleaſure, which you will have quickly to more Advantage from a better Hand.

Let one Inſtance of their Principle ſerve for all; their Uſage of a Brave *Engliſh*-Man, of their own Party, as Genuine and undoubted a *Whigg* as any of them. Did they not ſend him upon an *Expedition*, and as ſoon as ever he was gone, traduce him, as one not fit to manage it? Did they not Equip him out in ſuch a manner, that they thought he cou'd do *nothing*; and were they not Enrag'd, when they heard he had done *Wonders*? Were there not great Endeavours us'd, that no particular *Thanksgiving* ſhould be appointed for the miraculous Succeſs in *Spain*, in order to ſwallow it up in a more favourite

rite Victory? Were there not Calumnies perpetually ſpread at home to defame him, and all the Artifice and Malice us'd to leſſen him? And when he was juſt giving the finiſhing Stroke to his Glorious Undertaking, by bringing that Kingdom into our Poſſeſſion, and putting an End to the War, not only there, but in all *Europe*; Did they not in that critical Juncture Exert their utmoſt Diligence to Prevent it, and lay all the Obſtructions poſſible in his way, by *Tampering* with ſome of King *Charles*'s Council, and by directing the *General after their own Heart* to do nothing, or rather ſomething worſe than nothing? Did they not proſper in their Attempt, and tho' with great Difficulty, defeat all that Succeſs, which by the Conduct of that Noble Lord, we were juſt in view of? And did they not in the moſt inſolent malicious manner lay this very Defeat to his Charge; and never left purſuing him with groundleſs Clamours, and pretended Miſmanagement, till they had him recall'd? Were not ſeveral Officers *Cloſeted*, and in-

inſtructed in their Leſſon; and ſome that could not be prevail'd upon to diſguiſe the Truth, reprimanded, and diſcountenanc'd? Were not all Endeavours made uſe of to ſtifle any Inquiry into the *Spaniſh* Affairs; and when it was brought to an Examination, was it not with Uncommon Artifice and Induſtry ſo perplex'd and protracted, that it could not come to Light? Did not thoſe, and thoſe *only*, who are tax'd with always being *ready* to *make a willing Sacrifice of the Common Liberty*, appear in his Defence upon no other Motive or Principle, but the Juſtice of his Cauſe, and the Service he had done to the Nation? And did not his old Friends, theſe *Falſe Brethren*, deſert him, and make a Merit in being his Enemies? So irreconcileable were they to one, who had almoſt made an End of the War; and who had always ſo much Honour, as to prefer the Good of his Country to the private Intereſt of a Party. And that they might be ſure to make all their Actions of a Piece, and do nothing by Halves,

did they in the leaſt ſcruple to affirm, that we had the *Full Complement* of 29000 Men in that Service, when by thoſe very *Accounts*, upon which that Aſſertion was grounded, it was plain, we had not above *half* that Number. Such Patriots have they ſhewn themſelves, and ſuch Meaſures have they taken to oppreſs their Country, and all thoſe that have its true Intereſt at Heart, in order, ſometime or other, to Tyrannize over their Fellow Subjects, and get the better of the *Conſtitution.*

That this is the Natural Tendency of theſe Principles and Practices, we ſhall perhaps be more thoroughly convinc'd, if we obſerve, they had theſe very Effects in former Times. *Hiſtory* is allow'd by all to be one of the moſt uſeful Studies; for this Reaſon chiefly, that by giving us a Deſcription of the Revolutions and Events of one Age, it enables us to judge, what Iſſue and Effect we may expect from Things which we ſee doing in our own: The

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ſame Motives and Springs of Action naturally producing the like Train of Conſequences. There is a Period of Time, which that moſt Excellent Hiſtorian my Lord *Clarendon* deſcribes, that has ſo near a Reſemblance with the preſent, that I cannot do a greater Juſtice to the Subject I am now upon, than to draw out the Parallel between them: Some may call it an *Odious* one; but I am ſure 'tis a *True* one, and has, as the Judicious Mr. *Dee* rightly obſerves, a *Parallel* ſhould have, *Two Lines.*

Have we ſeen a *Junto*, a few Men of no real Weight or Intereſt in the Nation, by Artifice, Aſſiduity and great Improvement in the Faculty of Lying, work themſelves into Power, and Lord it over their Fellow Subjects? ——This Hiſtory informs us, how *A Handful of Men, in the beginning much inferior in Number, and Intereſt, came to give Laws to the Major Part; and what ill Arts theſe Men of Activity and Faction us'd to prevail upon* Vol. 1. 253.

*the People in general; their abſurd Ridiculous Lying to win the Affections, and corrupt the Underſtandings of the Weak; and the bold Scandals to confirm the Wilful; the boundleſs Promiſes they preſented to the Ambitious, and their groſs abject Flatteries and Applications to the Vulgar-ſpirited: Arts, that Liberal-minded Men would not give themſelves leave to entertain, for the Prevention of all the Miſchief that the others intended.*

Have our moſt Eminent Patriots, Men of the beſt Quality, Figure and Reputation, for Birth, Eſtates and Abilities in the whole Kingdom, that ſtood in the Gap for the Support of the Conſtitution, and boldly oppos'd any Encroachment upon it, either from the Prince or the People, been maliciouſly traduc'd, and poſted in a *Black Liſt*, as diſaffected to the Government, and Betrayers of their Country? We are furniſh'd here with like Example, thoſe 59 Gallant Members of the Houſe of Commons, when they ſaw that the Law could not condemn the Earl of *Strafford*,

*Strafford*, and therefore diſſented from that unjuſt and cruel Bill of Attainder, had their Names branded under the Title of *Straffordians*, or *Enemies of their Country.*

Have we ſeen ſhameleſs Partiality and Injuſtice us'd in determining *Elections*, the Rights and Charters of *Boroughs* Violated and Exploded, and Three voted more than Twenty Five, as in the Caſe of *Abingdon*, *Orford*, *Bewdly*, &c. My Lord *Clarendon* tells us, that in the very Beginning of the Parliament in 40. *They begun to conſider, that notwithſtanding all the Induſtry that had been us'd to procure ſuch Members to be choſen, or return'd, tho' not choſen, who had been moſt refractory to the Government of the Church and State; yet that the Houſe was ſo conſtituted, that when the firſt Heat (which almoſt all Men brought with them) ſhould be a little allay'd, violent Counſels would not be long hearken'd to: And therefore, as they took great Care by the Committee of Elections to remove as many of thoſe Members as they ſuſpected* Vol. I. 140.

not

*not to be inclinable to their Paſſions, upon Pretence that they were not regularly choſen, that ſo they might bring in others more pliable in their Places, in which no Rule of Juſtice was ſo much as pretended to be obſerv'd by them; inſomuch as it was often ſaid by leading Men amongſt them,* That they ought in thoſe caſes of Elections to be guided by the Fitneſs and Worthineſs of the Perſon, whatſoever the Deſire of thoſe was, in whom the Right of Election remain'd; *and therefore one Man hath been admitted upon the ſame Rule by which another hath been rejected: So they declar'd,* That no Perſon, how Lawfully and Regularly ſoever Choſen and Return'd, ſhould be, and ſit as a Member with them, who had been a Party or Favourer of any Project, or who had been employ'd in any Illegal Commiſſion.

Are thoſe who aſſert the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance, tax'd with Sapping and Undermining the very Foundations of our Government, with removing
P. 61. the Baſis and Fundamental Strength of

our

our Conſtitution, with queſtioning the firſt Principles of this Government, P. 66. with unhinging and ſubverting the P. 63. Government? The Houſe of Commons, with as much Reaſon, preſented a *Remonſtrance* (almoſt in the ſame Words) to the King, *Decemb.* 1. 1640. *That there had been, from the Beginning* Cl. V. 1. 249. *of his Reign, a malignant and pernicious Deſign of ſubverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Juſtice of the Kingdom was Eſtabliſh'd.*

Is Dr. *Sacheverell*, and all ſuch Falſe Brethren, who deny a Power of Reſiſtance in the People, and who profeſs Abſolute and Paſſive Obedience to the Supreme Power, charg'd with having a Deſign to *diſengage* and alienate the *Peoples Affections from their preſent Gover-* P. 71. *nours?* The ſame *Remonſtrance* ſets P. 76. forth, That *the Biſhops, and corrupt Part of the Clergy, had endeavour'd to raiſe Differences and Diſcontents between the King and his People, upon Queſtions of Prerogative, and Liberty.*

Is

Is the Doctor accus'd for creating Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings amongſt Her Majeſty's People, and inſtilling groundleſs Fears, by reflecting on the Diſſenters? The ſame Clergy are again in this *Remonſtrance* complain'd of, for *continuing, multiplying* and *enlarging the Differences between the Proteſtants and themſelves*, and diſtinguiſhing between Proteſtants and Puritans.

P. 84.

P. 86.

Do the *Managers* call for an indelible Brand of Infamy, in a Parliamentary way, upon the Enſlaving Tenet of Paſſive Obedience, and do they ask for a Sanction, which ſhall determine what Doctrines of this Kind ſhall, or ſhall not be preach'd; and give Hints what Principles ought to be taught in the *Univerſities*? Our *Remonſtrance* ſtill affords us a like Paragraph (as if our *Managers* copy'd from this noble Paper) That *they meant to have a General Synod of the moſt Grave, Pious, Learned and Judicious Divines of this Iſland* (tho' the Hiſtorian obſerves, that at that Time there

P. 24.

P. 77.

Ch. 271.

there was *ſcarce one Orthodox Divine of* England *in Reputation with them) who ſhould conſider of all things neceſſary for the Peace and Good Government of the Church*; and *to preſent the Reſult of their Conſultation to Parliament*, to *be there allow'd, and confirm'd*; *that they intended to reform and purge the Fountains of Learning, the two Univerſities*; *that the Streams flowing from thence might be Clear and Pure, and an Honour and Comfort to the whole Land.*

Do we find in theſe Speeches perpetual Repetitions of *Fears and Jealouſies*, to make an Impreſſion in the Minds of the People? Our Hiſtorian acquaints us, That *theſe were then the new Words, which ſerv'd to juſtify all Indiſpoſitions, and to excuſe all Diſorders.*

Was the Doctor, in the Courſe of his Accuſation, before Sentence paſs'd, ſtyl'd a *Criminal*, treated with Scorn and Indignity, and loaded with opprobious Language? We find the ſame Treatment us'd by the Managers

in the Impeachment of my Lord *Straf-*
P. 172. *ford*; Mr. *Pym* call'd him the *Wicked Earl*; *Another Member of the Houſe of Commons, apply'd and preſs'd the Evidence, with great Licence and Sharpneſs of Language*; and *took all Occaſions of bitterly inveighing againſt his Perſon.* And *this reproachful way of Carriage was look'd upon with ſo much Approbation*, that we are told in the ſame place of another particular Circumſtance (which I can't omit, tho' indeed it be no ways applicable to the preſent Tryal) That *one of the Managers* (Mr. *Palmer*) *loſt all his Credit and Intereſt with them, and never recover'd it, for uſing a Decency and Modeſty in his Carriage and Language towards him; tho' the Weight of his Arguments preſs'd more upon the Earl, than all the Noiſe of the reſt.*

Have we ſeen what an Addition it
P. 25. has been to the Glories of this bright Reign, that ſo many of thoſe who are honour'd with being in Her Majeſty's Service, have, before Her Majeſty's Face, been lowering the Prerogative

of

of the Crown, and contending for the Doctrine of Reſiſtance, and weakening Her Title to the Throne, by denying Her an Hereditary Right? We have like Inſtances of *many, who had ſcarce ever eaten any Bread but the King's, who detach'd themſelves from their Dependance*; ſo that the King *at that time had no Servant, in the Houſe of Commons, of Faithfulneſs and Affection to his Service*; *and Mr.* St. John, *who at the beginning was made* SOLLICITOR GENERAL, *and thereby had oblig'd himſelf, by a particular Oath*, to defend his Majeſty's Rights, and in no caſe to be of Counſel, or give Advice to the Prejudice of the King and the Crown, *was the Chief Inſtrument to deviſe and contrive all the Propoſitions and Acts of Undutifulneſs towards him.* P. 333. P. 253.

Are we told, That they are not pleading for a licentious Reſiſtance, as if Subjects were left to their Good-Will and Pleaſure, when they are to Obey, and when they are to Reſiſt; and that 'tis with the View of Neceſſity, only Abſolute Neceſſity, of P. 59.

preſerving their Lives, Liberties and Religion: That 'tis with this Limitation only they deſire to be underſtood, when any of them ſpeak of Reſiſtance
P. 21. in general? Are we told, That the Words *the Neceſſary Means*, (which is the Phraſe us'd by the Commons to expreſs the *Reſiſtance*, which brought about the Revolution) was made choice of by them with the greateſt Caution; and the Commons, who will never be unmindful of the Allegiance of the Subject to the Crown of this Realm, judg'd it highly incumbent upon them, out of Regard to Her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the Ancient and Legal Conſtitution of this Kingdom, to call that Reſiſtance the Neceſſary Means: Thereby plainly founding the Power and Right of Reſiſtance, which was exercis'd by the People at the time of the happy Revolution, and which the Duties of Self-Preſervation and Religion call'd them to, upon the Neceſſity of the Caſe, and at the ſame time effectually ſecuring Her Majeſty's Govern-

vernment, and the due Allegiance of all Her Subjects? We find there was the ſame *Caution* us'd in 41. by thoſe who *profeſs'd to be ever mindful of the Allegiance of the Subjects to the Crown*, in drawing up the *Ordinance about the Militia*, for the Effectual Security of his Majeſty's Government; which Ordinance the People were to Obey, only in *caſe of Extreme Danger*. The Hiſtory quickly informs us, that they were never at a loſs to find the *Danger to be Extreme*. The Account of this Tranſaction is writ with an admirable Spirit and Judgment; and it ſo exactly hits the preſent Controverſy about *Reſiſtance*, that no Words could better deſcribe the Natural Effect of ſuch a Doctrine, were it Enacted by the Parliament to be *Lawful, in caſe of Neceſſity*, than the Words made uſe of by this noble Author. After having given the Reaſons, *why it might ſeem ſtrange, that thoſe Men could entertain the Hope and Confidence to obtrude a Declaration and Vote upon the People, that the King did intend to make War upon the Parliament*; *and*

P. 355.

P. 421.

*and that it was an Undertaking of that Nature,* that even the *Almightineſs of a Parliament might have deſpair'd to ſucceed in:* He ſays, That *notwithſtanding all this, they very well knew What they did, and underſtood what Infinite Advantage that Vote would (as it did) bring to them; and that a Natural way would never bring them to their Unnatural End. The Power and Reputation of Parliament, they believ'd, would Implicitly prevail over many; and amaze and terrify others from it. The Difficulty was, to procure the Judgment of Parliament; and to incline thoſe different Conſtitutions, and different Affections, to ſuch a Concurrence, as the Judgment might not be diſcredited, by the Number of the Diſſenters; nor wounded, or prejudg'd by the Reaſons, and Arguments given againſt it: And then, their Judgments of the Cure being to be grounded upon the Nature, and Information of the Diſeaſe, it was neceſſary to confine, and contract their Fancies and Opinions within ſome Bounds, and Limits: The Myſtery of Rebellion challenging the ſame Encouragement with other Sciences, to grow by;*

*that*

*that there may be certain Poſtulata, ſome Principles and Foundations, upon which the main Building may ſubſiſt. So in the caſe of the Militia, an* imminent Danger *muſt be firſt ſuppos'd, by which the Kingdom is in apparent Hazard, and then the King's Refuſal to apply any Remedy againſt that Danger, before the two Houſes would pretend to the Power of diſpoſing that Militia: it being too ridiculous to have pretended the natural and ordinary Juriſdiction over it; but, in caſe of Danger, and Danger ſo Imminent, that the Uſual Recourſe would not ſerve the Turn: and for the ſaving of a Kingdom, which muſt Otherwiſe be loſt, many good Men thought it was reaſonable to apply a very Extraordinary Prevention, without imagining ſuch a Suppoſition might poſſibly engage them in any Action, contrary to their own Inclinations; and, without doubt, very many who frankly Voted that Imminent Neceſſity, were induc'd to it, as an Argument, that the King ſhould be therefore importun'd to conſent to the Settlement; which would not have appear'd ſo neceſſary a Requeſt, if the Occaſion had not been important; never*

*ſuſ-*

*ſuſpecting, that it would have been im-prov'd into an Argument to them, to adventure the doing it without the King's Conſent. And it is not here unſeaſonable (how merry ſoever it may ſeem to be) as an Inſtance of the Incogitancy, and Inadvertency of thoſe kind of Votes and Tranſactions, to remember that the firſt Reſolution of the Power of the Militia being grounded upon a Suppoſition of an Imminent Neceſſity, the Ordinance firſt ſent up from the Commons, to the Lords, for the Execution of the Militia, expreſs'd an* Eminent *Neceſſity; whereupon, ſome Lords, who underſtood the Difference of the Words, and that an* Eminent *Neceſſity might be ſupply'd by the ordinary Proviſion, which, poſſibly, an* Imminent *Neceſſity might not ſafely attend, deſir'd a Conference with the Commons, for the Amendment; which, I remember, was at laſt, with great Difficulty, conſented to: many (who, I preſume, are not yet grown up to conceive the Difference) ſuppoſing it an unneceſſary Contention for a Word, and ſo yielding to them, for ſaving of Time, rather than diſpute*

*diſpute a Thing, which to Them ſeem'd of no great moment.*

*They, who contriv'd this Scene, never doubted, but after a Reſolution what was to be done upon a ſuppos'd Neceſſity, they ſhould eaſily, when they found it Convenient, make that Neceſſity Real. It was no hard matter to make the Fearful, apprehenſive of Dangers; and the Jealous, of Deſigns; and they wanted not Evidence of all kinds; of Letters from abroad, and Diſcoveries at home, to make thoſe Apprehenſions formidable enough; and then, tho' before the Reſolution, there was a great Latitude in Law and Reaſon, what was Lawfully to be done, they had now forejudg'd themſelves, and Reſolv'd of the Proper Remedy, except they would argue againſt the Evidence; which Uſually would have been to diſcountenance, or undervalue ſome Perſon of notable Reputation, or his Correſpondence; and always to have oppos'd, That that was of ſuch an Allay, as, in truth, did operate upon the Major Part. So, in the Caſe upon which we now diſcourſe, if they had,*

*in the moſt advantageous Article of their Fury, profeſs'd the raiſing of an Army againſt the King, there was yet that Reverence to Majeſty, and that Spirit of Subjection and Allegiance in moſt Men, that they would have look'd upon it with Oppoſition, and Horror: But Defenſive Armes were more plauſible Divinity; and if the King ſhould commit ſuch an Outrage, as to levy War againſt his Parliament, to deſtroy the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom, good Men were perſuaded, that ſuch a Reſiſtance might be made, as might preſerve the Whole; and he that would have argu'd againſt this Theſis, beſides the Impertinency of arguing againſt a Suppoſition, that was not like to be Real, and in which the corrupt Conſideration of Safety ſeem'd to bribe moſt Men, could never eſcape the Cenſure of promoting Tyranny, and lawleſs Dominion. Then to incline Men to concur in the Declaration,* of the King's Intention to make War againſt the Parliament, *they were perſuaded it might have a good, and could have no ill Effect: The Remedies, that were to be apply'd upon an Actu-*

*al*

*al levying of War, were not juſtifiable upon the Intention; and the declaring this Intention, and the Dangers it carry'd with it, to the King himſelf, and to all thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt him, would be a probable Means of reforming ſuch Intention, and preventing the Execution: Inconvenience it could produce none (for the diſquieting, or diſpleaſing the King, was not thought Inconvenient) if there were no Progreſs in the ſuppos'd Intention; if there were, it were fit the whole Kingdom ſhoud ſtand upon it's Guard, and not be Surpriz'd to it's Confuſion.*

*By theſe falſe and fallacious Mediums, the Clearneſs of Men's Underſtandings were dazled; and, upon the matter, all their Opinions and Judgments for the Future, captivated and preengag'd by their own Votes, and Determinations. For, how eaſy a matter is it to make it appear to that Man, who conſented that the King Intended to make War againſt the Parliament, that when he ſhould Do it, he had broken his Oath, and diſſolv'd his Government; and that whoſoever ſhould aſſiſt him were Tray-*

tors? I ſay, how eaſy was it to perſuade That man, that he was oblig'd to defend the Parliament; to endeavour to uphold That Government; and to reſiſt Thoſe Traytors? And, whoſoever conſiders that the Nature of Men, eſpecially of Men in Authority, is inclin'd rather to Commit two Errors, than to Retract one, will not marvel, that from this Root of Unadviſedneſs, ſo many, and tall Branches of miſchief have proceeded. And therefore, it were to be wiſh'd, that thoſe who have the Honour to be truſted in Publick Conſultations, were endu'd with ſo much Natural Logick, to diſcern the Conſequences of every Publik Act, and Concluſion; and with ſo much Conſcience and Courage, to watch the Firſt Impreſſions upon their Underſtanding and Compliance: and that, neither out of the Impertinency of the thing, which Men are apt to conclude out of Impatiency of Diſpatch; or out of Stratagem to make Men Odious (as in this Parliament many forbore to oppoſe unreaſonable Reſolutions, out of an Opinion that they would make the Contrivers Odious) or upon any other (tho' ſeeming never ſo Politick) Conſiderations,

they

*they conſent not to any Propoſitions, by which Truth or Juſtice are invaded. I am confident, with very good Warrant, that many Men have, from their Souls, abhorred every Article of this Rebellion; and heartily deprecated the Miſeries, and Deſolation we have ſuffer'd by it, who have Themſelves, with great Alacrity and Induſtry, contributed to, if not contriv'd, thoſe very Votes and Concluſions, from whence the Evils they abhor, have moſt naturally and regularly flow'd, and been deduc'd; and which they could not reaſonably, upon their own Conceſſions, contradict and oppoſe.*

*But to conclude, a Man ſhall not unprofitably ſpend his Contemplation, that, upon thic occaſion, conſiders the method of God's Juſtice (a Method terribly remarkable in many Paſſages, and upon many Perſons; which we ſhall be compell'd to remember in this Diſcourſe) that the Same Principles, and the Same Application of thoſe Principles, ſhould be us'd to the wreſting all Sovereign Power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before made*

*uſe*

*uſe of for the extending it's Authority, and Power, beyond it's Bounds, to the prejudice of the Juſt Rights of the Subject. A Suppos'd Neceſſity was Then thought Ground enough to create a Power, and a bare Averment of that Neceſſity to beget a Practice to impoſe what Tax they thought convenient upon the Subject, by Writs of Ship-money never before known; and a Suppos'd Neceſſity Now, and a bare Averment of that Neceſſity is as confidently, and more Fatally, concluded a good Ground to exclude the Crown from the uſe of any Power, by an Ordinance never before heard of; and the ſame Maxim of* Salus populi Suprema lex, *which had been us'd to the infringing the Liberty of the one, made uſe of for the deſtroying the Rights of the other.*

There needs no Application of the Paſſage here quoted; it is too notorious from the matters of Fact that follow'd upon the broaching theſe Doctrines, that if Subjects may reſiſt for any *one* Reaſon, which they will allege, it is very probable, they will never want a *Reaſon*.

But

But to wave any further Comment upon the Tryal, let us conſider ſome other Inſtances, where we may trace the Steps of our worthy Fore-fathers in the preſent Generation.

Have we ſeen a few *Citizens* arrive to ſuch a pitch of Saucineſs, as to intrude upon the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown, and preſcribe to the Queen what Miniſters She ſhould employ; and to tell Her, the Credit of the Nation muſt ſink, upon any Change, and that People would not truſt their Money in the Bank? In thoſe Times likewiſe, *Some of the City offer'd to be of the Privy-Council to the King, and repreſented the great Danger, Fears and Diſtractions they were in; and pray'd the King, among other things, that, by the Advice of his great Council in Parliament, he would put the Tower into the Hands of Perſons of Truſt.* Soon after a pack'd Mob of Citizens petition'd, under a Pretence, That *their Fears and Jealouſies were ſo great, that they durſt not carry their* P. 290. P. 314.

*Bullion*

*Bullion into the Tower, being not ſatisfy'd with their preſent Lieutenant there; and therefore deſir'd he might be remov'd.* And immediately upon this, ſucceeded the
P. 322. Eloquent Petitions of the *Porters* and *Beggars*, repreſenting the State of the Nation, with their Humble Advice to his Majeſty, what he ſhould do.

Have there been induſtrious Endeavours us'd to perſuade People, that the Funds would ſink upon an Alteration in the Miniſtry or Parliament; that no Body would lend the Government Money to carry on the War, or pay Debts? It was juſt the ſame Cry of
P. 204. old, *That there was no more Hope of borrowing Money in the City; that Men before had chearfully lent their Eſtates, upon the Confidence in the Honour and Juſtice of the Parliament; but they had now conſider'd, how deſperate their Security muſt prove, if the Parliament ſhould be DISSOLV'D.* And the Clamour ended in an Act, to make that good Parliament *Perpetual.*

Do

Do we ſee Orders, publickly ſent from Great Men, to diſcourage and diſcountenance Loyal Addreſſes to Her Majeſty; wherein Her Subjects aſſure Her, they will defend Her *Title* to the *Crown*, the Doctrines of the *Church*, and the Laws of the Land? Do we ſee a Direction given, to find out, and apprehend the Promoters of them? Our great Hiſtorian, in like manner, tells us, How *when the chief Gentlemen of* Oxfordſhire *heard, that a Petition had been deliver'd to the Houſe of Commons in their Name, and the Name of that County, againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, and for the Exerciſe of the Militia, they aſſembled together to draw up a Petition diſavowing the former, and to deſire,* That the ſettled Laws might be obſerv'd; *of which the Lord* Say *having notice, he procur'd the chief Gentlemen to be ſent for as Delinquents, and ſo ſuppreſs'd that Addreſs. And this was the Meaſure of their Juſtice in many other Particulars of the ſame Nature, receiving and cheriſhing all mutinous, and ſeditious Petitions,* p. 350.

*and diſcountenancing ſuch as beſought the Continuance, and Vindication, of the ſo long celebrated and happy Government in Church and State; the prime Leaders of that Faction not bluſhing, in publick Debates in the Houſe, to aver,* That no Man ought to petition for the Government Eſtabliſh'd by Law, becauſe he had already his Wiſh; but they that deſir'd an Alteration, could not otherwiſe have their Deſires known; and therefore were to be countenanc'd.

'Theſe were the Steps that prepar'd the Way for the Rebellion and Anarchy of thoſe Days: There is a ſtrange Coincidence of Facts, we ſee, in that Period of Time, and This; and ſome
P. 94. *Reſemblance* at leaſt, whatever a *Manager* may think, *between thoſe unhappy Times, and Ours*: It would be much more ſtrange, if there ſhould be ſuch a Likeneſs between the Actions of both, and the Tendency of them ſhould be thought not to bear the leaſt *Reſemblance*. Whatever the Tendency be, the Event, I hope, will never come into Parallel.

Parallel. The *Managers*, at that time, (as this Learned Pen ſtyles them) were Men of great Figure and Weight; were as Extraordinary in their Parts, and Abilities, as in their Wickedneſs and Treachery: Never was there a Set of Men, who ſhew'd more Art in Speaking, more Judgment in Contriving, or more Conduct in Executing their Deſigns. God be thanked, they have left no Inheriters of thoſe Talents: We have now no *Pyms*, no *Hampdens*, no *Fiennes*'s, no *Hollys*'s, either for their Wiſdom, Eloquence, or Eſtates. The Shallowneſs of our Politicians is now diſcover'd; the Mask is entirely pull'd off; and we bleſs Providence, we all ſee, that their Deſigns are not more notoriouſly Inveterate, than their Power is Contemptible.

——*ſimul effuſus labor omnis, & ipſi.*

*F I N I S.*

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ERRATA.

PAge 57. *l.* 19. *read thus*, at all the Sedition and Treaſon that has been every Day publiſh'd by *Non-jurers*. *P.* 68. *l.* 23. *for* furniſh'd here with like Example, *read* furniſh'd here with a like Example.